The Direct and Indirect Causative Constructions in Kazakh

In this research, I explore the semantic-syntactic properties of causatives in Kazakh. The verbal causative markers /-DIr/, /-ʁIz/ and /-T/ in Kazakh have different morph-phonological distributions: /-DIr/ and /-ʁIz/ are interchangeable in almost all cases where both of them are attached after monosyllabic roots, while /-T/ is possible only after multi-syllabic roots. In addition, they provide slight differences in semantic readings such as 'make' or 'let' (direct and indirect, hereafter). Although distinction of this kind received considerable attention in other language such as Japanese (Dubinsky 1994), there seems no restrictions on transitivity of the verb type, nor case alternations on the causee observed for the first two causatives in Kazakh in active sentences, exemplified in (1a, b):

(1) a. (transitive verb)   ol   ma-gan   maqala-ni   jaz-**DIr/ʁIz**-di-∅
                            s/he I-DAT   papar-ACC   write-**CAUS**-PAST-3.SG
                            S/he **made/let** me write a paper.

     b. (intransive verb)   Ol   men-ni   ket-**DIr/ʁIz**-di-∅
                            S/he I-ACC   leave-**CAUS**-PAST-3.SG
                            S/he **made/let** me leave

However, the two causative types show asymmetrical behaviors in passive structures: direct causatives allow either the dative or the accusative argument to raise to the subject position(see 2a, b), while indirect causatives only allow the dative argument to move (2c).
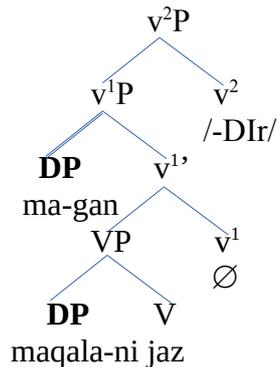
(2) a. ma-gan   (ol arqili)   maqala-∅   jaz-**DIr**-ɯl-di
         I-DAT   (s/he through)   paper. NOM   write-CAUS-PASS-PAST
         'I was made to write a paper (by someone).'
     b. maqala   (ol arqili)   ma-gan   jaz-**DIr**-ɯl-di-∅.
         paper. NOM   (s/he through)   I-DAT   write-CAUS-PASS-PAST-3.SG
         'The paper was made to be written by me (through/because of him).'
     c. ma-gan   (ol arqili)   maqala-∅   jaz-**ʁIz**-ɯl-di.
         I-DAT   (s/he through)   paper-Nom   write-CAUS-PASS-PAST.
         'I was let to write a paper (by someone).'
     d. *maqala   (ol arqili)   ma-gan   jaz-**ʁIz**-ɯl-di-∅.
          paper. Nom   (s/he through)   I-Dat   write-CAUS-PASS-PAST-3.SG
          *The paper was let to be written by me (through someone)
          'The paper is willing to be written by me.'

Assuming applicative structure (Baker 1988,Pylkkänen 2000), phase structure (Chomsky 2008,Gallego 2010), and multiple specifier (Chomsky 1995), we argue that Kazakh direct causatives (2a, b)employ normal verbal structure, while indirect causatives (2c) are high applicative construction.
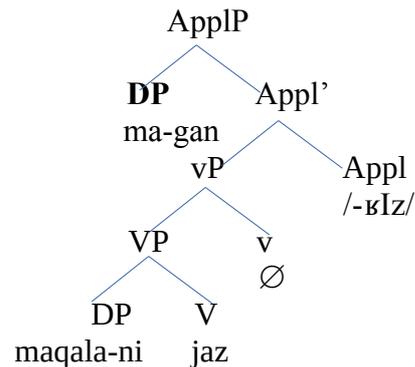
First, the structure in question is not a case of mere 'scrambling' (e.g Fanselow 2001) of the constituents: sufficient evidences such as the existence of dative subjects in certain non-causative constructions; the similar patterning between nominative subject and dative subject in causative structures, and the possibility of binding a subject-oriented anaphor with the dative nominal prove that the dative argument is the subject in causative constructions.

Second, the surface equivalence in terms of case marking between direct causative and ditransitive constructions in Kazakh reveals the same underlying structures as well (3a). It also means that Kazakh direct causatives employ normal verbal structure. The possibilities of moving either arguments to the subject position when passivized are driven by the multiple-specifier mechanism in the language where the lower accusative argument moves to the same position as the higher dative argument (Specifier, v^1). Based on Phase theory, head and the edge of a phase (the specifier) are accessible to operations outside of phase. The equal-distance of both arguments to the subject position indicate both of them are capable of moving to the subject position.

(3a)   (3b)

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              v²P                                          ApplP
             /   \                                        /     \
          v¹P     v²                                   DP        Appl'
         /  \    /-DIr/                              ma-gan      /    \
       DP    v¹'                                            vP        Appl
     ma-gan  / \                                           / \      /-ʁIz/
          VP    v¹                                       VP    v
         /  \    ∅                                      /  \    ∅
       DP    V                                        DP    V
   maqala-ni jaz                                  maqala-ni  jaz
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On the contrary, indirect causatives are high applicative construction in which both vP and ApplP are phases. Only higher nominal (specifier, Appl) is able to move out of the phase, and become the subject in the passive structure (3b).

In addition, the analysis is also able to accommodate the syntactic behavior of Kazakh causative clusters such as /-T-DIr/ (see 4), and thus allow us to offer a comprehensive analysis in the paper.

(4)   sen   bala-ni   Dina-ga   (bereu-ge)   qara-**T-DIr**-d-ŋ
         You   child-ACC   Dina-DAT   (somebody-DAT)   look-CAUS-CAUS-PAST-2.SG
         'You made Dina look after the child.'
          or 'You made Dina make someone to look after the child.'

The contributions of this paper are twofold. On the descriptive side, it offers a systematic presentation of Kazakh causatives in Distributed Morphology. Second, the data suggest that two structurally distinct causative constructions exist in the grammar of a single language, also suggests the existence of high applicative structure in Kazakh.

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